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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this packet is to assist teachers as they individualize instruction to meet the needs, interests, and abilities of seventh grade students. The activities in this unit are mostly inquiry and social science oriented. There are three major ideas behind the packet: 1) The first generation immigrants closely observed the customs of the country in which they grew up; 2) The first generation faced many difficulties in adjusting to the new environment; and, 3) As the immigrants became Americanized and as second and third generation grew up in Hawaii, many old customs began to disappear. Each lesson in the packet contains one of the major ideas, behavioral objectives, instructions, and learning activities. The remainder of the packet consists of student readings about Hawaii's immigrants. (Author/AWW)

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# HAWAII'S IMMIGRANTS

## SECONDARY EDUCATION

IIM SOCIAL STUDIES

OFFICE OF INSTRUCTIONAL SERVICES
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
STATE OF HAWAII
1971

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# HAWAII'S IMMIGRANTS

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SECONDARY EDUCATION

IIM SOCIAL STUDIES

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# FOREWORD

This is one of the many individualized instructional packets compiled or revised by the General Education Branch, Office of Instructional Services, Department of Education.

The purpose of these packets is to assist teachers as they individualize instruction to meet the needs, interests and abilities of students.

An updated list of all such packets published by the General Education Branch through the Teacher Assist Center is printed each year and distributed to schools and libraries. The list contains the titles of the learning packets, level (primary, elementary, junior high or high school) and subject area.

We hope these individualized instructional materials prove helpful to students and teachers as they cooperatively plan objectives, evaluate learning, and plot next steps.

Margaret Y. Oda
Director
General Education

Arthur F. Mann
Assistant Superintendent
Office of Instructional Services

Instructions to the Teacher

I. Instructional Approach

The activities in this unit are for the most part inquiry and social science oriented. Hopefully the students will choose different activities so that they will become acquainted with sociological methods.

II. Identification of Learners

The unit is geared for 7th graders but parts of this may be used in the 9th grade for introduction to oriental customs or in learning the concept of social change

III. Special Instructions

A. Readings Necessary

Readings are taken from Social Process in Hawaii and from Community Forces in Hawaii, University of Hawaii Press.

1) Anonymous; A Chinese Family in Hawaii, from Community Forces in Hawaii, University of Hawaii Press, 1956, pp 52-55.

2) Yamamoto, Misaka; Cultural Conflicts and Accommodation of the First and Second Generation Japanese, from Social Process in Hawaii, Vol. IV, May 1938, pp 40-48

3) Lee, Alice K. Y.; Some Forms of Chinese Etiquette in Hawaii, from Community Forces in Hawaii, pp 14-16

4) Luis, Anastacio and Sensano, Herman; Some Aspects of the Filipino Family, from Community Forces in Hawaii, pp 56-59

5) Mitamura Machiyo; Life on a Hawaiian Plantation, from Community Forces in Hawaii, pp 144-151

6) Martin, Caridad; A Filipino Wedding: A Comparison of the Past and Present, from Social Process in Hawaii, Vol. XXL, 1957, pp 50-53

7) Jose, Dorothy; A Portuguese Family in Hawaii, from Social Process, Vol. III, 1937.

B. News Articles Needed

1) Carol Battles the Haole World; Advertiser, March 24, 1969, pg C 7

2) How Young Chinese View Their Heritage; Honolulu Star Bulletin, Monday, July 13, 1970, pg B 6

C. Chart

Chart on population scale of Hawaii by races, taken from Lind, Andrew William, Hawaii's People, 3rd edition, University of Hawaii Press, 1967.

IV. Evaluation

Answer key for Pre-test and Post-test

1) d
2) c
3) b
4) c
5) b

V. Suggested Additional Readings

1) Smith, Bradford; The Islands of Hawaii; Chapters 11, 12, 13, pp 70-86

2) Lee, W. Storre; Hawaii, Chapter 23 (Into the Melting Pot), pp 266-

3) Fuch, Lawrence; Hawaii Pono, pp 86-105

4) Social Process in Hawaii

Sasaki, Hideko; The Life History of a Portuguese Immigrant, Vol. I

Kashiwahara, James; Japanese Etiquette in Hawaii, Vol. I

Cariaga, Roman; Some Filipino Traits Transplanted, Vol. II

Lai, Kum Pui; Fifty Aged Puerto Ricans; Vol. II

Wong, Elizabeth; Leaves from the Life History of a Chinese Immigrant; Vol. II

Onishi, Katsumi; Studies of Immigrant Families in Hawaii; Vol. III

Yoshizawa, Emi; A Japanese Family in Rural Hawaii, Vol. III

Brooks, Lee M.; Hawaii's Puerto Ricans; Vol. XII

Pang, Morris; A Korean Immigrant; Vol. XII

Anonymous; Namie Yamamoto, a Kibei; Vol. XIV

## Major Ideas

The first generation immigrants closely observed the customs of the country in which they grew up for many reasons but primarily to maintain a sense of identity and retain a feeling of security.

The first generation faced many difficulties in adjusting to the new environment.

As the immigrants became Americanized and as the second and third generations grew up in Hawaii, many old customs began to disappear.

## Behavioral Objectives

Students will identify the major ethnic groups that migrated to Hawaii.

Students will identify some major customs brought by immigrants.

Students will cite at least three of the difficulties faced by immigrants in the new environment.

Students will realize that Hawaii's rich cultural heritage is a result of the immigration from many nations in the world.

Students will identify the customs that still remain with the descendants of the immigrants and those that have become part of 'Hawaiian customs'.

Students will identify the actions which show complete acceptance of other ethnic groups and those which show partial acceptance.

Given a new ethnic group arriving in Hawaii, the students will state in their own words the various steps the group will take to become an accepted part of society.

## Student Section

## Hawaii's Immigrants

## Pre-test

Complete the pre-test, making sure you fol'ow the directions. When you are finished taking the test, ask the teacher for the answer key and correct your work.

## Purpose of the Pre-test

If you have successfully completed the pre-test, you need not complete the Learning Packet. If you did not do well, do not be discouraged, but go on to Lesson 1.

## Pre-test and Post-test

Multiple choice. Choose the best answer.

1. The immigrants who came to Hawaii in large groups include all the following except:

   a) Chinese
   b) Filipino
   c) Portuguese
   d) Spanish

2. The immigrants found it easiest to:

   a) speak the new language
   b) adjust to the food
   c) find a job
   d) live with different ethnic groups

3. The best example of the idea of the 'melting pot' is found in:

   a) language in Hawaii
   b) foods in Hawaii
   c) clothes in Hawaii
   d) homes in Hawaii

4. The immigrants were most reluctant to:

   a) live among other ethnic groups
   b) work with other ethnic groups
   c) marry into other ethnic groups
   d) attend schools with other ethnic groups

5. Which of the following helped most to 'Americanize' the immigrants?

   a) working with other ethnic groups
   b) attending school with other ethnic groups
   c) playing with other ethnic groups as children

## Lesson I

### Major Idea

The first generation immigrant closely observed the customs of the country in which they grew for many reasons, but primarily to maintain a sense of identity and retain a feeling of security.

The first generation faced many difficulties in adjusting to the new environment.

### Behavioral Objectives

You will identify the major ethnic groups that migrated to Hawaii.

You will identify some major customs brought by immigrants.

You will cite at least three of the difficulties faced by immigrants in the new environment.

You will realize that Hawaii's rich cultural heritage is a result of the immigration from many nations in the world.

### Instructions

Do activity one and as many of the others as you can.

### Learning Activities

1. Look at Instructional Material No. I (chart) included in this packet showing the immigrant pyramids by age and sex, and answer the following questions:

   a) What problems do you think the Filipino and Chinese men faced in the period following their initial immigration? What would you predict were the results of their problems?

   b) Make a hypothesis about why there were more men in the 20-24 age groups among the Caucasians in 1960.

   c) What in the chart indicates many Chinese-Hawaiian marriage?

   d) Why would the pyramids be the most symmetrical in the Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian groups?

e) Why would the pyramids be more uneven with the male rather than the female?

2. Read as many of the following that interest you. The readings are included in this packet.

a) A Chinese Family in Hawaii

b) Cultural Conflicts and Accommodations of the First and Second Generation Japanese

c) Some Aspects of the Filipino Family

d) The Filipino Wedding

e) Some Forms of Chinese Etiquette in Hawaii

f) Life on a Hawaiian Plantation

g) How Young Chinese View Their Heritage

Make a chart comparing one ethnic group's customs with American customs. Write a summary paragraph on whether you think the customs are basically more similar or different.

3. Make a list of the customs described in any of the readings with columns to show whether the customs are still practiced today.

Example:

| Custom | Still Practiced | Not Practiced |
|---|---|---|
| Parents arrange marriage | | x |

4. Do a variation of the activity suggested above. You may want to make a list of customs in the readings with a column showing 'western' customs.

5. Do a comparison of any two readings. In what ways are the customs similar? Different? Why do you suppose they are similar or different?

6. Read -- The Islands of Hawaii; Chapters 11, 12, 13 Smith, Bradford
Hawaii; Chapter 25 Lee, W. Storre
Hawaii Pono; Chapter 3 Fuchs, Lawrence

## Lesson II

### Major Idea

As the immigrants became Americanized and as the second and third generation grew in Hawaii, many 'old country' customs began to disappear.

### Behavioral Objectives

You will identify the cutsoms that still remain with the descendants of the immigrants and those that have become part of 'Hawaiian customs'.

### Instructions

Do two of the following activities from 1 through 7. Then do the last activity.

### Learning Activities

1. Do a survey of favorite foods of Hawaii and find out where these originated from.

2. Make slides of customs from various countries that are still practiced today.

   e.g. Get a picture of a Bon Festival or a snake dance and make a slide.
   Take a picture ofshoes and slippers outside the door of someone's home.

3. Keep an account of your daily activities (e.g. taking a shower, eating a "saimin" snack, etc.) for a series of 3 or 4 days. How many things have you done that are 'American customs'? How many things are the influence of other countries? What conclusions can you draw from this?

4. Read news article s showing how some of the present generation feel about their 'heritage'. (Ask your teacher for readings). Express how you feel in a paragraph.

5. Make a montage type poster of the 'melting pot' of Hawaii.

6. Talk to your older relatives, parents, or neighbors about their childhood, especially about customs from other countries. Keeping in mind the life of the early immigrant, what conclusions can you draw from comparing the lives of the early immigrant, your parents or neighbors and yourself?

7. Make a list of words, music (or anything else that interests you) used in Hawaii today that have originated in China, Japan, Korea, etc.

8. Keeping in mind the pattern of life of the early immigrants and the people of Hawaii today, how can you tell when a group is "accepted by the rest of society?". Make a list of things the immigrants did not do in the early days that the descendants do today.

## Lesson III

### Behavioral Objective

Given a new ethnic group arriving in Hawaii, you will state in your own words the various steps the group will take to become an accepted part of society.

### Learning Activity

A large group of people from another part of the world has migrated to Hawaii. Predict the difficulties the group will face, the steps the group will take to become accepted, what customs will remain--using evidence from your last two lessons.

## Quest

1. Do a study of a family where one parent is an American, born and raised in the U.S., and the other was raised in another country. Do the children face any difficulties?

2. Read and write a report of the adjustments and assimilation in the following books:

| | |
|---|---|
| Jade Snow Wong | Fifth Chinese Daughter |
| Monica Sone | Nisei Daughter |
| Betty Cavanna | Jenny Kimura |

3. Do a study of the Samoans in Hawaii. What customs and values are different? Which ones conflict with the values in Hawaii? What are the similarities between the adjustments that had to be made by the Chinese, Filipinos, etc., and the Samoans today?

## Instructional Material No. 1

Locate chart in the following book:

Lind, Andrew, Hawaii's People,
(Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1961)
pp. 34-35

## A Chinese Family in Hawaii
(1937)

Anonymous

One of Hawaii's greatest sociological problems is the Americanization of its predominantly Oriental population. We of the second-generation Chinese are caught in a cultural whirlpool which gives us a peculiar Western-Oriental outlook of life. In everyday dealings we think in American ways, being educated in American schools, but our life is largely motivated and built around a philosophy that is Oriental. Most matters of daily living have been secularized, but our spiritual life is centered around filial piety, which is a sacred priniciple of the greatest importance in the civilization of the East. To view this complex situation with understanding, one must consider the social forces at work in the life of an American of Oriental parentage.

Ours is a large family. Father had eight children; four boys from the first wife and four girls from the second wife. All of us children called the first wife "mother" regardless of whose children we really were. The second wife we call "Jah" which in Chinese means "second mother." This seemingly strange family situation can be explained by the age-old Oriental custom which allows a man to have more than one wife. Polygamy in the East is practiced by those who can afford it. A man takes a second wife for these various reasons; when his first wife fails to bear him children, when she fails to bear him a son, or when she is ill and incurable so that another woman is necessary to the household.

Father and Mother never saw each other before their marriage. Their respective families arranged the affair. After setting the date of the marriage, my father's family sent 1,000 cakes and a hundred pigs to my mother's family. (The greater the figure the wealthier and nobler is supposed to be the groom's status.) This gift was passed out among my mother's friends and was the means of announcing her engagement.

On her wedding day Mother rose early and dressed in her wedding garments, and then served tea to her mother for the last time as a daughter. Then she rode unaccompanied to her husband's village, six miles away, in the Chinese sedan chair. Being the first wife of the groom, she had the privilege of a formal ceremony which consisted merely in serving tea to her mother-in-law, and then in having tea with her husband.

After three days of festivity, Mother returned to her former home with a lunch for her mother. At this time she formally bade goodbye to her mother and family, to start life anew in her husband's home. According to

Chinese custom, when a girl is married she automatically loses her position in her childhood home and becomes a member of her husband's family. Upon her arrival at her husband's home, she was formally greeted as a daughter in what Americans would call a "tea."

Life being hard in China, Father and Mother decided to come to Hawaii to live. Mother brought two slave girls who were both fourteen years of age. They worked for her until they were old enough to be married, at which time they were given their freedom so they chould have homes of their own. Incidentally, they are still living in Honolulu. Their children call us "cousins" although we are not related in any way by blood or marriage. They are grateful to my mother for their happy life in Hawaii and though Mother is now dead, they never fail to bring our family oranges and moon cakes on New Year's and during the Full Moon festival.

It is generally believed that in a typical Oriental family, the mother is secondary and unimportant, she being so submissive and meek. But this is not the case in our family. Mother was always the all-important mate of her husband. She was decidedly the ruling agent in the family, for Father was too busy attending to his business (he was a merchant) ahd had little time to devote to the family.

Based as it is on a strict family system, an Oriental household is, economically speaking, carried on under communal principles. Our home is no exception. Our family is closely integrated, and we all work for the welfare of the home with that oft-quoted adage, "one for all and all for one," as the central motivating force.

Father was the economic head and all the things regarding financial matters were carried out under his direction. Mother and Jah took care of the details of running the house and bringing up the children, but it was Father to whom they were ultimately responsible.

All earnings by the members of the family were turned over to Father. My brothers' pay checks were given directly to Father. Whenever anyone needed money, Father was always willing to meet the demands provided they were not too extravagant.

From the time that we could help around in the house we were taught to be useful. We girls were taught to clean the house, help with the cooking, wash the dishes and in general to do all the household duties that a good daughter should know. Our brothers, on the other hand, were required to keep our yard well trimmed and well groomed. In addition they were given the task of caring for the chickens that were kept in our back yard.

Every morning we got up at six. It was cold and dark, but duty was duty and we did our chores without complaint. While I boiled the water and warmed the soup, my sisters would sweep and dust. The eldest daughter usually supervised our work. Our brothers, too, got up early to water the yard and feed the chickens.

It was not so much that our help was needed at home but that our parents believed that we should be properly trained for our roles in later life. It is an old Oriental tradition that sons and daughters must be properly brought up and parents should train their children to be useful.

My parents were especially anxious that the boys should be given every opportunity to live a wholesome, worthy life. They were offered the best in education and other worthwhile enterprises. Father seemed more interested in them than in his daughters. Indeed, it is an accepted fact that in the Orient boys are more highly considered than girls. This is so because boys can help the family economically in the future and because they can carry on and perpetuate the family name, thus easing the parents' constant worry of family extinction.

All of the boys were educated in private American schools and were taught to accept the American code of morals, e.g., respect towards the female sex, monogamy, etc. But it isn't easy to change custom. Living in a home of Eastern culture, it seemed inevitable that my brothers should carry on the traditions. Let me cite one example. The eldest son has two wives, and his home is an eternal battleground. He made the mistake of trying to combine two cultures. He took a Hawaiian-born Chinese girl to China as a happy bride. Eight months later he brought a China-born girl into the home as a second wife and forced his first wife to accept the situation. The wives are always fighting over each other's children and each has taught her respective children to call her "mother." It is difficult to understand how any home could overcome destruction when children within the home claim one common father but different mothers.

Our family life, however, was very different. Mother fell ill and became a semi-invalid. Being weak and without the services of her slaves, it became necessary for someone else to run the household. Father conferred with Mother and gained permission to bring home a young girl, who had just come from China, as second wife.

Jah had no marriage ceremony. She merely came into the home and was made a part of the family because Mother accepted her. Mother taught her sons to call her second mother. She and Jah lived and loved each other like sisters. When Father died a number of years later, they continued to carry on the household affairs together.

Jah is my real mother. Yet I called her second mother, and gave all of my allegiance to the first wife. My sisters and I went to Mother for advice and sympathy--not to Jah. Every morning it was Mother who received our first greeting. It was she who gave us permission to do what we asked. Should you ask us whom we loved more, Mother or Jah, we would be at a loss to answer for we loved them both equally well.

Mother was not very harsh with us. To be sure, there were certain things we were taught not to do. If we disobeyed, we were punished. Smoking was absolutely prohibited among the girls although the boys were allowed to smoke or drink. One day my sister was caught playing with a cigarette. My mother pronounced her a disgrace to the honor of our family and punished her severely.

Mother was also very much opposed to interracial marriages. In fact, we were told that we must marry in our own "Punti" class. My sister fell in love with a Chinese boy whose parents came from "Hakka" stock. The Hakka class is considered by the Punti as inferior and Mother absolutely forbade the marriage. She sent my sister to _____ where she died a few months from illness.

When I was ____ years old the entire family returned to China. Mother felt that she was soon to leave the earth and wished to die in her own country. We went back to the old village where Mother first went as a bride. How different was her attitude from that of ours today. While we shun death and cling to the hope that it is far away, she calmly prepared to receive death in dignity, knowing that her time to go was drawing near. Like a typical Chinese, she awaited her time with the fatalistic philosophy of the Orient.

I can never forget her funeral. The horrible chant of the native women made everything seem so gruesome. A beautiful house made of paper and bamboo, a sedan chair, money, human figures, and other useful things were made and taken to the burial grounds. We walked five miles to the place of burial, dressed in black, our faces covered with white sacks. As the coffin was lowered into the grave, all of the bamboo and paper goods were burned as a part of the funeral ceremony. This was to insure her getting a good house, a sedan chair, servants, and plenty of money in the next world. After the funeral we rode home and were made to jump over a small fire which was supposed to cleanse us of all the devils which we acquired at the funeral.

Following Mother's death, Jah became the head of the household. I returned to Hawaii to continue my education.

# Cultural Conflicts and Accommodations of the First and Second Generation Japanese

Misako Yamamoto

My parents came to the shore of Hawaii some thirty odd years ago with the intention of making a fortune. Hawaii to them was only a stepping stone to that coveted end. Whatever their purposes were their coming has brought about a second generation--a native generation born of foreign stock--and subsequent conflicting attitudes and actions. They have brought about a new group, neither wholly Japanese nor wholly American, which is fully accepted by neither one of these groups. As a member of this second generation, I am confronted by a welter of problems. To be essentially Japanese or to be essentially American is my dilemma. Let me present problems as they exist in my family, which I consider a typical immigrant family. I shall describe and analyze those patterns of activity in family life which create the conflicting attitudes and actions.

My parents were both reared in a very small village in Hiroshima, Japan. They belonged to good, honest families, farmers for generations. Their marriage was greatly approved by both families. Father was the youngest of four children and mother, the eldest of two children.

In the early days of immigration to Hawaii, my maternal grandfather had the task of soliciting immigrants to go to Hawaii as plantation laborers. Finally, he too decided to make his fortune in Hawaii. The dazzling tales of "gold" in Hawaii were tempting to a simple-minded farmer like grandfather. He considered himself "well-off' as far as owning a home and farm in Japan was concerned, but he lacked money. Therefore, in 1889, he left Japan for Hawaii with a contract in his pocket on the fifth boat that brought immigrants from Japan to Hawaii.

He was prominent in his village, but here among the laborers, he found his influence even greater than before. Life wasn't so hard for him as it was for the others who had to work in the fields. He opened a boarding house with the consent of the plantation. Since most of the laborers were single men, he also conducted a community bath house.* The boarding house became the

*The community bath house often became the centers of gossip and activity for the Japanese community. Here the immigrants gathered and gossiped about old times in Japan as well as of the events of the day. It was a common thing to find the keeper of the bathhouse in plantation communities serving

*continued
as mailman, interpreter, and letter writer. Since most of the laborers were uneducated, the task of writing letters home in the accepted interpretation of certain American practices were left to him. Often the laborers went to him to have their letters read and translated. This situation has been modified by the coming of Japanese women to Hawaii (making possible family life) and the establishment of language schools. However, the educated person still plays a prominent role in the affairs of the community.

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meeting place for the entire Japanese community. It was natural for these people to gather at his place, for any immigrant in a strange land would seek to live where he could speak his own language and eat the kind of food which he was used to having in his homeland. It was natural for the laborers to seek protection under a capable leader who was sympathetic to their problems. Thus, grandfather, by viture of his education and ability, became the camp counselor and settler of problems arising between the plantation and the workers.

Grandfather's prosperity influenced my father's coming to Hawaii. Father was a poor man, for when he married he did not get his share of the family land. The death of his father and the greed of his eldest brother left him without any property. Thus, like his father-in-law, his sole motive for migrating to Hawaii was to make money.

He came to Hawaii without his wife. He expected to earn a fortune in a few years and then return to Japan. He approached the gates of Hawaii with great expectation. However, his life on the plantation was not as easy as it had been for grandfather. He had to start from the lowest occupational scale. He had to go out into the fields and work as he never had before. Yet, he was willing to undergo the hardships in this strange and new environment, for he found in it something invigorating. Heretofore, he had enjoyed only a limited freedom in his homeland. Being the youngest in the family he had to submit not only to the constant authority of his parents but also of his elder brothers. On the plantation, he experienced real freedom for the first time.

Like the rest of the immigrant population, my father's one desire was to make good economically and then return to his native village. He wanted recognition by the people of the village who had known him since childhood. He wanted to show the people of the village that he had attained status by material means. Consequently, after laboring on the plantation for four and one-half years, he realized his goal and returned to Japan. The idea had never occurred to him to settle in the islands--it was a foreign land, and despite the advantages he enjoyed, he had no desire to stay in Hawaii. In Japan, however, he found that he could not be comfotable. He could not

stay on the farm without finding fault with the way his relatives and friends lived. He found it difficult to readjust himself to their ways after experiencing the life of freedom of speech and action in Hawaii. Thus, he returned eagerly to Hawaii with new hopes and ambitions. This time mother accompanied him and the roots of our life found growth in the soil of the plantation.

My first recollection of the plantation life is that of the plantation kindergarten for the laborers' children. Every morning before daybreak mother left me protesting lustily at the kindergarten for she too worked in the fields. Many times I ran away from the kindergarten only to be brought back again. I never liked this place where the nurse with yellow hair made me do funny things and sing queer songs. I was afraid of her for she was the only one of her kind whom I saw mingling with the plantation laborers. Day by day, the only people I saw were those who looked like my family--black hair, slant eyes, and brownish-yellow skin.

There were two incidents that shifted and changed the course of my family. First, my eldest brother transferred from the country high school to the city school without the consent of my parents. His action was so unexpected that my parents were unable to cope with the situation.

Then my father became very ill. Even after his recovery, he could not endure the hard work of hapai ko or hauling sugar cane. He visited the shrines frequently. The gods of my father's ancestors had to be consulted before any move was made. Thus, with the consent of the family gods, our family left the plantation about fifteen years ago to live in Honolulu.

My parents sought out people of their own nationality and again settled among the Japanese group. This was inevitable for city life was new to them. It was natural for them to seek out people who spoke their own language and understood them. On the plantation they lived just as they lived in Japan, but in the city it was not possible to transplant in its entirety this life that was so close and familiar to them. We were no longer under the constant surveillance of our parents. We were growing up and developing thoughts and actions which deviated from the conventional patterns of our parents. Thus the family organization underwent radical change in this new environment.

Perhaps in no other place do the conflicts and accommodations of culture become more evident than in the Japanese home. There are the conflicts of age and youth, traditions and customs of parents against American mores and folkways and the second generation with the established groups in the community. These processes are going on in every Japanese family where there is a member of the second generation. It also holds true of all immigrant groups, b t the Japanese immigrants have more difficulty

than the European immigrants in adapting themselves to the American ways. The contrast between the two civilizations is greater and causes deeper conflicts.

At home, we have beds as well as futon, or Japanese mattresses for use on the floor. We sleep on the one we prefer, but no one in the family except mother, uses the futon. She will not sleep on a bed. Whenever we insist that she sleeps on the bed she concedes; but it is not uncommon on such occasions to see mother wake up in the middle of the night to lay out the futon and sleep on the floor. We use chairs, but we also use zabuton, or Japanese cushions. A dresser stands in one corner, while a kyodai (Japanese bureau) stands in another corner of the bedroom. Japanese picture frames are hung beside American picture frames. The Japanese home of the typical middle class group in Hawaii is a mixture of both civilizations. The homes show a certain amount of adaptation and adoption of phases of American life, even in the exterior appearances.

In a Japanese home the father is the head and is usually the one who directs the interests of the family group. He is the judge in all matters pertaining to the welfare of the family and is the official representative of the family in civic affairs. The mother stays at home and sees that the father has every possible comfort. She is considered a servant to her husband in the sense that he is her lord and master--his will is hers. This holds true to a large degree in our family; but more and more, mother is considered on an equal level with father. That is the position we children have given her and in most instances she seems to have the last word, just like an American woman! Gradually she is assuming the role of the boss of the family and holder of the purse strings. This does not mean that she no longer respects father. It is the economic and the social factors in the Islands which makes such a situation possible.

My parents never display affection for each other. They consider it bad form. Therefore, words of endearment are lacking their conversation. The Americans call each other by their first names, but father, instead of calling mother by her name, always says oi which is equivalent to hey in the American vernacular.* Mother calls him oto-san which means father.

Due to the traditional conception that the woman in inferior to man, a husband does not seem to have intimate companionship with his wife in the immigrant Japanese homes. The close intimate feeling that exists in the American homes does not exist in the Japanese homes. The social life of

* More often the term used is Oka-san which literally means mother.

the first generation is very limited. Once a year my parents go to the prefecture picnic. They eagerly look forward to the occasion, for at this gathering, the ken (prefectural) people get together and talk of old times and of their homes in Japan. Aside from this, their only diversion is going to to the movies or gossiping with neighbors. They prefer the Japanese movies since they do not understand English sufficiently to enjoy the American movies. My mother's experience is, I think, a typical one. Until talkies were introduced, she had never seen an American movie. When the talkies were first shown, I persuaded her to see one. She did not understand it, and furthermore she disapproved of the kissing scenes. That was the only American movie she has seen.

In the average Japanese home there is a noticeable lack of companionship between parents and children in the spending of leisure time. It is very rare occasion in our family today when we ever have breakfast together. Each member prepares his own breakfast and goes about independently for the rest of the day. We seldom see each other in the mornings. Our evenings are never spent together--one goes to the library, the other to the movies, and another to work. We no longer go on family trips or picnics as we did when we were youngsters. I long to go on such trips with my parents, but this does not seem possible despite the fact that we have a family car.

Boys are considered superior to girls in the Japanese family. My eldest brother is deemed the legal heir to the family fortune. His comfort comes before ours, inasmuch as he is the one to perpetuate our family name. It is the custom of the family that the father and the eldest son are to be served first. Then, the younger boys are served and are followed by the mother and the girls according to their age. Being the youngest, I have always been reconsidered first because my brothers do not consider themselves superior to the girls despite the fact that they have been taught to expect special privileges.

The influence of authority and tradition cannot be overlooked in parent-child contacts. One of the basic ideals of Japanese life if filial piety. This ideal has been stressed in the home education of the second and third generations through gestures and definitions by parents. The Japanese revere age. Japanese custom demands that courtesy be shown to elders on all occasions. This is expected especially of youth. The thought of sending the aged to the poor house is inconceivable to them. The first as well as the second generation cannot understand how haoles can send their parents to charity institutions. Parents and elders are addressed as superiors. Even to this day, I say Tada ima itte kairi masu (May I leave now) when leaving and Tada ima itte kairi mashita (I have returned)when I return.

Birth control is a taboo subject in the Japanese home. In fact, many regard it as immoral. The second generation with its educational advancement is more informed along such lines. This knowledge has been gained chiefly through contact with friends and through medical sources and books. We do not believe in having large families. Both my brother and sister have been married for many years. My brother has remained childless for more than ten years of married life, while my sister had a child only recently. The second generation is not as prolific as the first generation. This is due to the acceptance of American cultural patterns and a desire for a better standard of living.

To the Japanese people, the three most important events in their life are birth, marriage and death. These are celebrated accordingly. Most of the second generation were delivered with the aid of midwives and in many cases their fathers were the only attendants. Such was the case in my family. Medical and hospital care were unthought of in the early days. It was and is still a great event in the life of the Japanese parents when their first born is a son. Great ceremony is performed in honor of the first born and on naming him, a great feast is prepared. Gifts are received from relatives and friends. The names are usually derivatives of their grandfathers' or grandmothers' names. No American names are given, and those American names which the second generation Japanese have today were adopted by them at a later age or given them by their teachers who had a difficult time pronouncing their unfamiliar Japanese names.

Since marriage is one of the important events in life, the parents expect to pick the bride for their son. Marriage is looked upon as a family affair and not a personal matter. Parents believe that the welfare of the family (in future years) will come about with the successful marriage of their eldest son. This is one of the reasons why the second generation Japanese girl does not care to marry the eldest son of a family. She is afraid that she will find herself married not to the son, but to the whole family. The baishokunin, or "go-between", makes all the arrangements for the marriage. According to Japanese philosophy, love is not essential before marriage, but is something which comes after marriage. Americans often view Japanese marriages as forced unions, but this is not true, for before the bethrothal is announced, both parties have a perfect right to make their decisions known. The second generation is getting away from the traditional modes and, if the "go-between" takes any part at all, he enters as a formality to please the old folks.

Because of the importance of marriage in one's life, no expense is spared to make it an elaborate affair. Faimilies often spend all their savings for the occasion and newly-weds frequently start their married life with a large debt incurred from an elaborate ceremony. The marriage ceremony is usually held at a shrine or a temple.

American social life has equalized the status of the male and female. No longer is a girl regarded as inferior to the male, and thus, when the emphasis is placed upon the boy, conflict arises. The second generation idealizes the American type of marriage where intimacy and companionship exist between the wife and husband. Romantic love is the basis of their marriage. The American custom of giving showers for the bride-elect has been adopted quite extensively, and the groom usually gives a bachelor's dinner.

The desire of the second generation members is to secure a fuller life than that of their parents. They think of life in terms of progress and they are, unlike their parents, individualistic because of their contacts with the wider community. The first generation thinks of life as being static and unchanging and develops personalities which reflect the group patterns.

With the second generation Japanese, American folkways and mores have gradually displaced many of the customs and traditions of their parents. The young people of Hawaiian birth who are educated in American schools and who enjoy wider social contacts than their parents find it difficult to conform to the traditional Japanese standards. The second generation is educated in the Japanese forms of courtesy in the language schools, but their sentiments favor the freer American ways. We call each other "dear", "honey", and "sweetheart" just as casually as haole boys do. We walk arm in arm with boys and let them "date" us. The young people no longer bow to each other but shake hands and greet each other with "hello there" and "hi there". Even among our parents the forms of Japanese courtesy are no longer strictly observed. Despite the fact that boys are served first at home and taught to expect privileges, this does not prevail in their social life outside the home. The second generation Japanese boy, like any haole lad, seats and serves the ladies first. Though New Year is still one of the most celebrated events in the Japanese home, my family no longer stays home to spend the night together. We no longer have the customary last supper of the year together as in the old Japanese family. Instead, New Year's eve is spent in hilarity as in an average haole home. The young folks usually spend their New Year's eve at a dance. Then they return home in the early hours of the morning and sleep until noon. This situation which exists in many of the urban homes tends to undermine family solidarity and morale. Conditions are slightly different in the rural areas where the institutional aspects of the family are largely unchanged. This matter is of deep concern to our parents, who say that such actions will obstruct our chances to marry into a respectable home. This breakdown of familial control over the second generation is taking place in many Japanese homes as an inevitable result of the influences of American education and the freer American traditions.

Conflict is inevitable in this changing cultural situation. Conflict is severest where parents hold on to the idea of some day returning to Japan with their children and thus attempting to rear their children in the strictly Japanese fashion. However, the conflict is less severe in most homes where the parents are realizing that their children must become Americans, and are honestly attempting to adjust themselves to the situation.

There was a time when I was looked upon as the disturbing element in the family. I was radical, always dazzling my parents with something new. They said that I imitated the American boys and girls, that I was trying to be "haolefied". At first my parents insisted on my accepting Japanese customs, but they have gradually yielded to my desires to be like the other girls of the neighborhood. I distinctly remember the day I bobbed my long hair. Since all the girls were wearing bobbed hair, I didn't want to look different with my long hair. After begging and pleading for six months, my parents finally consented. I had it trimmed so short that I looked like a boy. They called me otemba or tomboy, but it did not concern me because now I looked like the rest of my playmates. On another occasion, I shocked my parents by noncholantly walking down the lane into my home in a pair of slacks (they called it pants). Imagine what a step I was taking! I had borrowed this pair from a friend of mine whose parents were lenient. My parents ordered me to take them off, but I defied them. After much pleading, I finally prevailed upon them to let me dress like the other girls and by the time I began wearing shorts, my parents were well acquainted with my desire to be like other girls. They no longer protested.

Perhaps one of the most serious conflicts arises through the language difficulty. I tried to speak English at home because my teacher told me that if I wanted to be "smart" in English, I had to use it at home. My parents put a stop to this. They told me that I could speak English outside of home, but not before them. They could not understand English, and therefore, they didn't want anyone of the family to speak English before them. So, we speak Japanese before them, but English among ourselves.

The second generation does not speak Japanese fluently. Therefore, in their contact with parents and older folks, misunderstanding often develops. The younger folks, who no doubt mean to be polite, but who have not sufficiently, if at all, mastered the exacting Japanese language to adequately express themselves, are often misunderstood and berated for being rude and disrespectful to the elders in their speech.* There is a tendency

* The Japanese language is very exacting in the use of keigo, or honorific expressions; so much so that the correct usage of these terms necessitates much study and practice. In polite conversation, when referring to things or persons which belong or are related to those whom we address, respect

*continued
is indicated by prefixing o or go to the noun indicating the possessed object. For example, the words, uchi and rhyoshin. Without the honorific o and go they mean "my home" and "my parents" while go-rhyoshin means "your parents," When asking his superior when they have returned, one will ask, "Istu-o-kaeri-narimashita ka?" instead of "Itsu kaeri mashita ka?" These are the simpler ways of denoting respect;more complicated changes are involved besides prefixes. It is only fair to indicate here that the mastery of these forms alone is not sufficient. There is the yet more difficult task of applying these varying degrees of honorifics to the appropriate occasions. Depending upon the situation anything except the correct usage may make for either rudeness or absurdity. It is small wonder therefore, that the English-speaking Hawaiian born Japanese had polite conversation in the language of their parents so difficult. Based on Oreste Vaccari & Mrs. Elisa Vacarri, "Comple Course of Japanese Conversation and Grammar,"pp. 190-210.

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for the first generation to think that their children are deliberatly trying to forget the Japanese language in order to become more Americanized, and with it, they fear the loss of Japanese customs and traditions, which they cherish so dearly. The younger folks, at the same time, shun contacts with the elders due to this Japanese language deficiency.

Another source of conflict in a Japanese home lies in the divergent religious beliefs of parents and children--the one being Buddhist and the other Christian. I do not disapprove my parent's worshipping of the Buddha. Their ritualistic procedure such as incense burning, placing food before the shrine, and the shrine worship does not bother me at all as long as they let me worship in the manner I desire. This liberty of religious choice has been given me, although my parents are staunch Buddhist. Although I am a Christian, I still observe some of their rituals. I place food before the shrine and fast on the 16th of each month (the date on which Buddha was born). I follow these rituals not because I want to, but because I have found that it makes for harmony in the family. I have also learned not to contradict my parent's belief that the Emperor is God. When speaking of the Emperor of Japan, they use an altogether different and more respectful mode of expression. The "Son of Heaven", although respected by the children of immigrants, does not hold a place of reverence in their hearts as he does in the hearts of the members of the first generation.

My parents who came here thirty years ago to make their fortunes are still living in Hawaii. They have gone back to Japan from time to time, but they have always returned to the land of their settlement. They have found that going back to Japan involved difficulties in readjustment. They have changed, but they do not wish to forget Japan. They say that they still owe

their allegiance to the Emperor. Though they emphatically state this, I am sure that the problem of rearing and educating their children has been shifting their interest from Japan to Hawaii and the regard they have for Japan is now just a sentimental attachment.

The processes of conflict and accommodation are taking place continously in the Japanese families in Hawaii. The lot of my family represents a rather common experience among the average immigrant families. The problems arising between the first and the second generation are primarily caused by the clash of cultures and the struggle between age and youth. However, in this constantly changing milieu, there are still surviving some fundamental Japanese ideals af filial piety and respect for the aged.

The first generation, because of strong sentimental attachments to Japanese behavior patterns and because of infrequent and limited contacts with American cultural patterns, have resisted the changes which threatened to destroy their traditions and customs. Their adaptation took place because it was absolutely necessary for their survival on Hawaiian soil. On the other hand, we of the second generation, immersed as we are almost wholly in the ways of the West, have accepted American cultural patterns more rapidly. The American patterns have become an integral part of our lives. But the fact cannot be denied that we are not fully accepted by the race whose ways we have adopted. At the same time we are misunderstood by our own kind. What is to become of the bi-cultural product of Hawaii?

## Some Aspects of the Filipino Family
(1937)

Anastacio Luis and Herman Sensano

The Filipinos in Hawaii were the last racial group to come into the Territory, and a great majority of them came as single men. With their migration came the necessity of extensive adaptation to a new environment, to new customs, standards, laws, and language. Like other recently arrived immigrant groups, the Filipinos, owing to physical, temperamental, and cultural differences, have a tendency to segregate themselves.

The Filipino population of the Territory is comparatively young. In 1930, 53 per cent of the Filipinos in Hawaii were in their twenties. But even more noticeable than this abnormal age range is the preponderance of men over women. According to the 1930 census for the Territory, there were five males to every female. The migration of men to the Territory and the Pacific Coast has brought about a situation in the Ilocos provinces (from which most of them come) which is somewhat similar to that of France and Germany during the World War. The able-bodied young men have migrated in such great numbers that the women have to run the farms, repair roads, and work on irrigation projects.

Family Organization. The Filipino family is of the paternal type. The husband is the head of the family, and he has more authority than any other member. His is the final word on important family matters. Contacts with the community are made through him. It is his duty to provide the necessities of life. He approves or disapproves of family relations with outsiders. He is the final disciplinarian. In case the wife fails in her effort to discipline her children, the husband intervenes and enforces parental respect. He does it by the use of the belt or rod in the case of the younger children who are not yet able to perceive the meaning of a firm and determined scolding. A milder form of punishment such as depriving them of certain privileges is applied in the case of the older members.

As a result of migration, however, the power of the husband has diminished and the status of the wife and the children has been enchanced. The Filipino family in Hawaii is for the most part a small group including father, mother, and children, with few relatives, and in some cases entirely emancipated from the control of the wider kinship group of grandparents, uncles, aunts, and cousins. The trend is toward a diminishing of the traditional responsibilities and a redefinition of the roles of the members of the family. Certain functions and traditions which once operated to hold even an inharmonious family together have now weakened or disappeared.

The enhancement of the status of woman in the Filipino family in Hawaii is due largely to the severance of kinship controls, the abnormal sex ratio, and the waning of traditional responsibilities. Back in the Philippines where farming is the main occupatio ., the family is very nearly self-sufficient. Most of the things needed are raised by the family. In Hawaii, on the other hand, the dollar or so a day which the husband earns is insufficient to support an average-sized family. Consequently, the woman in Hawaii has assumed a wider range of activities and responsibilities. In addition to her simple business transactions such as the selling of home-made candies, embroidered pillow cases, and handkerchiefs or by taking in washing or boarders. A woman with a pretty daughter is apt to be most successful in these economic activities. More common than cooperation in production, therefore, is cooperation in the contribution of wages to the family income.

The woman in Hawaii has a decided advantage over her husband. In a place where the sex ratio is so abnormal and where divorce can be secured without difficulty, the woman is tempted to try new husbands for old. This is especially true if she is still young and attractive. Children do not seem to be obstacles to family dissolution nor do they add to family stability in many instances.

The children in the family, although they have become more individualistic and independent, still tend to adhere to the principle of filial piety. Individualism on the part of children is due to the educational differences from their parents. For the most part, the parents received very little schooling. Although they may accept the opinion of their children when Western ideas and customs are involved, the parents still insist upon the final word in the majority of cases.

The parents believe in educating the boys as much as possible. Great sacrifices are made on their behalf. They contend, however, that educating a girl beyond the requirements of a good wife and a wise mother is a waste of time and money, since the girl is to leave her parents at marriage and therefore cannot repay the debt she has incurred.

The parents and eventually the older children lay the foundation for the attitudes, manners, and morals of each child in the family during his formative years. Seniority is the most important factor in determining the role which each child in the family plays. Everyone is obligated to show a reasonable amount of respect for an elder. For example, it is bad form to call an older person by his name only without the use of the word manong for men and manang for women. These words literally mean brother and sister respectively. The Christian doctrine of brotherhood as taught by the Catholid Church in the Philippines has extended the scope of these words

beyond the limits of the family circle. An individual addressing another by either manong or manang depending upon the sex of the person addressed implies his subordination and humbleness, an attitude which should be assumed by a younger person. In fact, it is customary to abstain from using the name of the person addressed except to avoid ambiguity. It is the responsibility of the older person to see that the younger members follow this standardized form of communication (social) among members of the family and with outsiders. The early moral training of a member is judged by his adherence to this form of adress toward his elders and by his conduct toward strangers. Younger persons in the family are usually called by their first names or nicknames.

It is absolutely taboo for the children to call their parents by their names. In most Filipino families, the mode of address is somewhat Americanized. Pa for father and ma for mother are used interchangeably with the Ilocano words tatang and inang which mean father and mother respectively. On the other hand, the parents call their children by their nicknames or by such generalized terms as baroc for son and balasangco for daughter. The use of these terms is permitted to anyone who is married or is a parent. Thus it is good form to call the son of another family baroc or a daughter balasangco.

Little formality in the manner of address between the parents is observed. The term sica which is equivalent to the pronoun "you" in English is commonly permitted. Thus, instead of calling her husband by his name, Juan, for example, the wife would simply say sica. At other times the parents would call each other by their first or nicknames even in the presence of strangers.

The American words, uncle and aunty, are commonly used instead of uliteg and ikit which mean uncle and aunt respectively. It is not permissible, however, for Filipino children to say Uncle John or Aunt Mary. Names are used only to avoid ambiguity or confusion. Address between cousins follows that of the family--manong and manang are used according to seniority.

Strangers are treated differently. Although the same words, manong and manang, are used as for elders, there is a different shade in meaning, based upon distance. It is good form to address a young man manong or a young lady manang merely to signify respect.

Ama and ina, which mean father and mother respectively, are used for old people, It must be noted that the addition of "ng" to a Filipino name denotes affection or familiarity. Accordingly, it would be presumptuous to call a strange lady inang instead of ina.

Marriage. In the Philippines, romantic marriage was frowned upon. The boy's parents took the initiative in selecting the girl and in making arrangements with her parents, even without the knowledge of the couple concerned. Young people were not free to choose their own life mates. Today, however, this old custom is rapidly passing out of vogue and the tendency is toward greater freedom of choice. The parents, though they greatly resent it, are losing the role they formerly played. This is especially true in Hawaii where the young people have acquired self-expression and democratic ideals under American influence.

The marriage market for Filipinos is exceedingly favorable. According to the 1930 census of the Territory of Hawaii, 90.6 per cent of the females 15 years of age and over were married. This ratio is higher than in any other racial group in Hawaii. Due to the great sex disparity the demand for Filipino women is high even among the very young and in 1930, 49.3 per cent of females from 15 to 19 years of age were married. Obviously the girls have a good deal to say as to whom they shall marry.

Marriage in a Filipino family is an occasion of much gaiety, dancing, and feasting. In Hawaii, there is not very much difference between the practices of the Filipinos and the Occidental groups. There is one very outstanding difference, however, in that in the Filipino wedding, the couple are asked to dance an old folk dance called the cariniosa, and while they are dancing the relatives, friends, and guests drop their bitor (gifts) on the dance floor or put them in a receptacle placed there for that purpose. The gifts are usually in the form of money and sometimes amount to several hundred dollars. The more money collected for the couple, the greater is their prestige in the community. The number of gifts is a good indication of the popularity of the couple in the community.

Family Substitutes. It is not uncommon to find a group of five or six single men living together in a plantation cottage. In this case the organization is patterned after the family. By virtue of his age, the oldest member of the group usually becomes the head. The position of each member of the group depends to a great extent upon age. Education, the length of residence on the plantation, and the type of work performed in the plantation are important determining factors if the age range in the group does not vary greatly. A member working as a luna (foreman) or office or store clerk holds a much higher position in the group than a mere laborer. The head exercises a great deal of authority in matters of the household. He assumes the role of both the father and mother of the family. Whenever the other members are too extravagant with their earnings, he reprimands them. His advice is sought on personal problems. If anyone of the group fails to do his duty, complaints from the other members are made through him. He is usually the representative of the group in contacts with the outside. If any dispute or misunderstanding arises among the younger

members, he is consulted, and often his decision is accepted. With such a set up, the youngest member frequently assumes the role of the youngest child in the family. He seldom does his share of the housework, especially when the others are lenient and are willing to do it for him. Confident of the support of his housemates, he seldom hesitates to get into a brawl.

In the household tasks, there is a division of duties. Those who go to work earliest in the morning do the cooking and the filling of kaukau (lunch) tins. Those who work on the night shift of the mill or who come home first in the afternoon prepare dinner. These groups of single men take great care and pride in the appearance of their dwellings and frequently they cultivate beautiful flower gardens and potted plants.

The financing of such household varies. Frequently each individual is made responsbile for the purchase of certain food items. In other households, the expenses are divided equally among the members at the end of the month. This is possible because of the extensive credit-buying in the plantation. When the Filipinos first started buying automobiles, they frequently did it on the compang partnership basis.

Conflicts. In the interaction of personalities in the family group, there are conflicts as well as concord among the members. The new American environment has aggravated the conflicts between Filipino parents and their children. In the old country, children were not expected to question the wishes of their parents. Girls were not allowed to go out at night unless they went with their parents. Here in Hawaii, the children go to the public school where they are taught self-expression in words and in action and, above all, to be Americans. To the parents, who are still thinking in terms of their old background, these children seem ill-mannered, disobedient, and often very obstinate, whereas the children look upon the parents as old fogies and kill-joys.

One Filipino university student offers a good example of the conflicts that arise from the meeting of the two different standards. In this case the parents of the girl always insisted that one of them accompany her as chaperone to university social functions. This the student resented greatly, feeling it was unfitting, considering her age. Finally the situation became so unbearable that she decided to go to the Mainland to escape parental surveillance.

Adjustments. The trend, however, is towards a diminishing of conflicts and a corresponding increase in proper adjustment. As the parents realize that their children need not be trained as they were, much of the conflict will be eliminated. More and more the parents realize their own inadequacy in the new environment. They are now beginning to see how much it means for their children to be Americanized and they are beginning

to take great pride in the achievements of their children. One needs only to go to a Filipino party to realize just how anxious the parents are for a proper training of their children in the American way. At such parties, a great part of the entertainment is given by juve .le dancers, singers, musicians, and even orators. With the pride and interest Filipino parents are taking in their children's struggle to become Americans, there is every assurance that the new generation will find its proper place in the life of the new Hawaiian community.

# The Filipino Wedding: A Comparison of the Past and the Present

Caridad Martin

Many years ago, arranged marriages were very common in many parts of the world. In Japan, for example, the girl's or boy's parents choose the bride-to-be or groom-to-be for their children. In royal or wealthy families of England and India, to mention only a few, marriages are planned long before their children are aware of such arrangements. This is similarly a wide-spread practice, not only for rich, but for poor families in the Philippine Islands.

The following discussion is written primarily from the viewpoint of the Ilocanos, with major attention upon the marriage practices as they have existed in the homeland. As a consequence, the account is stated chiefly in the past tense, as having existed in the past in the Philippines, prior to the arrival of the immigrants. It is quite probable that many of these customs still prevail in the homeland. They are presented here, however, as the standard by which the immigrant generation tend to judge present practices in the Islands. Incidental attention is given to the changes which have occurred among the immigrants and their children in Hawaii.

When the boy was between the ages of 18 and 20 years his parents would be very much interested in getting him married. In most cases, the parents already had a bride picked out for him. The girl was sometimes from the same county, a good family friend, or a far-away relative which we sometimes call a "Calabash cousin" in Hawaii. The girl was frequently unaware of the marriage arrangements being made for her because in most instances, she would meet the boy for the first time at the altar. Contrary to this, the boy was given much more choice because the parents might not have had anyone in mind, with the result that the boy could select his own bride.

The term mangasasawa was used when the boy's parents went for an informal talk at the girl's house for wedding arrangements. The girl was rarely present during this meeting. When the family was poor, the parents of the girl were eager to have their daughter marry. The girl's parents would seldom refuse an offer for their daughter's hand, but in many instances, the boy's parents was required to "pay" for his bride. This is still practiced today by some, especially if the girl is the youngest member of the family. There might be objections from the relatives and friends of each party, but sole judgment was left up to the parents. When settlement was made, the boy's parents had to see that the bride-to-be was furnished with the

appropriate wedding clothes. The boy's side (i.e. family friends and relatives called partido) also furnished all the food. In Hawaii, Filipinos still believe in this custom.

The girl's wedding gown was called iterna which is made of cotton and abacca of any color. The girl was also given asagaisai (comb), aritos (earrings), and a golden wedding ring with unusual designs. Today Filipinos have adopted the practice of having the girl provide her own wedding gown and of wearing a diamond ring or golden wedding bands for both the bride and groom. Whereas the girl in earlier times wore wooden slippers with pearl trimmings for her wedding, today every American girl wears heels or flats, depending on her choice. The wooden slippers, called kotso, were sometimes worn in the Philippines for other occasions.

The boy supplied his own wedding shirt called senamai, which is similar to the organdy. He did not dress as elaborately as the girl, nor did he wear a coat and tie. His pants were also a bright color which Filipinos fancy.

There was a best man and a maid-of-honor--Ama ken Ina ti Casar. Literally, they were the father and mother in marriage and usually they were from the same county and very close relatives of both parties. Selections were based on prestige and status so that in times of hardship after marriage, the couple might rely on them for assistance. Today there are added flower girls, a ring bearer, and bridesmaids and ushers which did not exist in earlier days.

A Filipino daya (party) was formerly a four-day affair. There was a pre-wedding party for two nights and a day, and another one right after the wedding ceremony in a nearby church; following the wedding day, another party was held at the girl's home. This party was something like a "farewell" for the girl because she was leaving her home for a new one with her husband. If a wedding was to take place on Sunday, the actual party started on Friday night. Wine, made in their homes, was served along with roast pig, fish, and chicken as main dishes. There were also many vegetables like tarong and paria (egg plant and bitter melon, a favorite of many Filipinos) and carabasa (pumpkin). The party was not limited to invited guests. A number of the guests' friends "invited themselves." The party continued all day and night on Saturday at the boy's residence. On Sunday morning, after the wedding ceremony was over, continued celebration resumed at the boy's home. On Monday, the "farewell" party was at the girl's place.

After the wedding ceremony at the church, the bride and groom along with others, marched from the church to the boy's home where the party took place. Usually the rejoicing was accompanied with music by a three

string orchestra who played Filipino love songs to signify happiness for the newlyweds. Today, there are loud horn sounds as the couple passes in a car after the wedding ceremony.

When the couple arrived at the boy's home, each of them was given a lighted candle which was held in front of them as they entered into the house. They then kneeled and the candles were placed in front of an altar. Prayers led by an older female member of the boy or girl's family followed. This is a very important tradition that is still carried out today. Rice throwing was considered less important in those days. The Filipinos believe that such a ceremony would give the couple the blessings and happiness which were needed. Sometimes misfortunes would fall on the relatives of the bride and/or the groom when this ceremony was not undertaken. When I was seven years old I was a flower girl for one of our family friends, and I remember then when we were just about to start the party, the groom's father fainted. Much to our astonishment, the bride's mother also weakened and had to be carried to the bedroom to lie down. One of the older women suddenly shouted, "go and get the candles" and then prepared for the candle ceremony. When this was done, both the groom's father and the bride's mother were well again. They thought a marriage was incomplete without such a ceremony to make the "bad spirits" go away.

After this prayer, the daya(party) began. The party was held under a large canvass cover called tulda. This was somewhat like a circus tent. Smartly woven coconut leaves were used to decorate the encircling sides. It was divided into a dancing and eating section. A special table was set up for the bride and the groom, their parents, the best man, the maid of honor, and some very close family friends. The table was actually divided into the right and the left sides: one for the girl's family and friends (babayan) and the other for the boy's family and friends (lalkyan). All the relatives would seat themselves in the proper sides. After everyone had eaten, liquor was served by the girl and the boy to their respective sides. Those who desired to give them money did so. The ones on the boy's side would shout "lalakyan," and the people on the girl's side, "babayan," It was not regarded as a sale of liquor but it was a custom some Filipinos still practice even today. After the guests at this special table had been served, the other guests at the other tables were also served. These guests would "buy" liquor from whomever they wished. There were no significance as to who collects the most money. However, if the boy collected money, it was usually because he had more relatives at the wedding party and therefore was more prosperous. Dancing followed right after the big meal. The orchestra was usually made up of players of string-instruments. The couple would initiate the wedding dance, the Pandango, which would last about an hour or so. This is a roundabout dance in which coins are throw, and shouts as if to say "good luck" come from all sides. Money was the most popular gift to the newlyweds. If the guest was poor, he gave a bag of rice or something else that he had for the party.

Today the couple are showered with various kind of presents and money and the Pandango is not very popular with the second and third generation Filipinos. Sometimes a sum of five hundred dollars can be expected from the dance. A rather extraordinary way of giving money to the bride and groom originating among the Tagalogs but practiced now to some extent also by the Visayans, and Ilocanos, consists in placing the money between the dancing girl's lips and the boy taking it with his lips and dropping it on the floor. All those who are watching are yelling and laughing because the couple look rather awkward trying to pass the money to each other. The "dime," because it is small, is a favorite for such a practice. Most people, however, regard it as unsanitary and it is gradually dying out.

In the Philippines there used to be many other Filipino dances which were performed while the bride and groom were being congratulated. The older people now had their chance of showing their talents by singing or dancing. Usually the songs portrayed love stories and situations in time of courtship.

While rejoicing was going on, the candles were watched by an older member (or members) of the girl or boy's family. It was believed that the candle that "died" faster signified which one of the couple would die earlier. Also, by observing "how the candles burned" one could tell more or less how the marriage would turn out. If the flame of both candles was straight, their marriage would be a happy and strong one.

If both parents were well-to-do, they would provide a house for the couple. However, if they were poor, the couple would live with the boy's parents. Today, it depends on the couple. Some prefer to stay with the girl's parents, others, with the boy's parents and there are some who wish to live apart from either parents.

By way of conclusion, one may say that even though arranged marriages are not very common today, the parents still believe that their child should accept the parents' choice of a marriage partner. The father may oppose his daughter's going steady with a boy of a different nationality and may even threaten the boy. I have found, however, that when this happens and the boy and girl do get married without the consent of either parents, if the marriage turns out well, cordial relationships with the parents are re-established and, "everyone lives happily ever after."

Finally parents tend to be more understanding and tolerant now, perhaps because education is more widespread and mixed marriages are more common. Though weddings still tend to be rather elaborate and formal, some believe in small private weddings today. Few of the traditional customs still persist among the "Americanized Filipinos."

## Some Forms of Chinese Etiquette in Hawaii
(1935)

Alice K. Y. Lee

Though many of the customs of the Chinese may appear strange and even amusing to foreigners, it must be noted that by this means society is kept moving with a minimum amount of friction. The little formalities and courtesies rendered by individuals to one another are the necessary rules of the road. The object of Chinese etiquette is to "express the courtesy of the soul, and to give grace to life." Their elaborate forms of social intercourse date back to the ceremonial system developed during the Classic Chou Period (B.C. 1122-250). We find the Chinese rules of etiquette in the Classic Book of Rites (the Li Ki) where the ceremonial to be observed for a gentleman is described to the minutest detail for all occasions in his daily life.

Reverence to one's parents has been instilled in the hearts of children throughout the centuries as a result of the teachings of Confucius. The Chinese people look upon their children as the future source of income, as individuals from whom "tomorrow's rice" will come, as the future progenitors of the family, and as the future guardians of the family tablets and ancestors. It is the custom and the duty of children to rise early for the purpose of preparing the toilet articles for their parents and to clean the hall and yard before the appearance of the parents. They must be on hand to greet their parents with a smile and a respectful bow. Years ago, as a child, I can remember having to sweep the house early in themorning, heat water, and carry it in an elaborately designed basin to my mother's personal wash table. Her toothbrush, tooth powder or paste, and towel must be laid conveniently at hand ready for use. Thus, I was taught to revere my parents.

Instead of shaking hands, as done in the Western world, the Chinese clasp their own hands over their chest and shake them up and down gracefully. This has often been taken as a rebuff by foreigners, but to a Chinese it is natural and right. Though the Chinese in Hawaii have not adhered to this type of greeting, they, nevertheless, avoid prolonging the hand-shaking, and usually content themselves with a tiny bow or nod to acknowledge a greeting or show recognition.

In the matter of hospitality, the rules of etiquette exhort one to extend the greatest courtesy and respect to his guests. A host must inquire into the welfare of his guest and his family since the last time they met. When invited by his host to drink tea, he must accept and then take his leave by saying that he will call again. The host accompanies his departing guests

as far as the gate. All formality is discarded, however, if the host invites his guest into his study or private rooms. Here, a guest is free to doff his jacket and cap and enjoy the informality and hospitality of the host. He may discuss any subject which it pleases the host to bring up and stay as long as he desires.

The Chinese are very punctilious in matters of convention or propriety involving relations between the sexes. A woman does not appear before the men guests of her husband. Nor does she come out to greet a male guest in the absence of her husband. A servant, instead, is sent to inquire as to the business of the guest and to extend the proper salutations and hospitality due a guest. The presentation of tea is never neglected even today in the urban districts of China and in Hawaii where the etiquette of the Chinese is fast disappearing. It is still customary for men and women to eat separately except within the family circle.

It is the duty of the host to escort all his guests to their seats and to pour wine for them. When they have toasted one another, he takes up his chopsticks and makes a sweeping motion with his chopsticks to include everybody and asks his guests to begin. Whereupon the guests respond and dip into the food. When all have done so, the host may begin. Rice is not served until the main course is concluded. Chopsticks are placed across a bowl after a meal only when an individual wishes to notify his host that he must leave at that time. This saves time and does away with a lot of embarrassment and explanations. It gives the departing guest an easy way to thank his host and apologize to the other guests for his early leave-taking. The host in turn need only express a few words of regret at his early departure. At the conclusion of the meal, hot towels and toothpicks are brought in to the guests. In the use of the toothpick, however, it is likethat of the Western world, in that one hand must be used as a shield over the mouth to hide the operation. Drinking soup to the accompaniment of a great deal of noise characterizes one as a boor even though one may be of high rank.

The passing and handling of food and other articles, as well as the receiving of articles with both hands, is an essential observance in the etiquette of eating. Even today among the Chinese in Hawaii, it is regarded as extremely disrespectful and unmannerly for an individual to thrust things towards one without due ceremony. Both hands must be seen while at the table with the left holding the bowl which is then slightly elevated but never at such a height as to touch the lips. Only the unmannerly or the unversed in the forms of proper etiquette bring their bowls up to their mouths. Parents are wont to reprimand their children whenever they neglect to have their left hand showing over the edge of the table. To eat with only one hand in view is supposed to inflict some kind of disaster upon either or both parents, usually death. The chopsticks must be carefully handled because the belief that a spirit resides in each which would be injured or annoyed if harm befell

the chopsticks in which it resides. Here is another possibility for the unversed to offend unknowingly. It is considered polite for one to eat everything offered him by the host and especially to clean his bowl of every grain of rice. As children we have been taught and forced to eat every grain of rice in our bowls even though we did not finish the rest of the food set out before us. We had been told that as a penalty for failing to clean the bowl, we would marry a pock-faced man or woman when we grew up.

The Chinese in Hawaii usually effect a compromise of Chinese and Western forms of etiquette with regard to marriage. Unlike their village kin in China, many of the second generation in Hawaii marry on the basis of romantic love rather than in conformity to family arrangements, but others observe the traditional form of employing a matchmaker, even though they have made their decision on other grounds. The ancient code which designates cakes and other foodstuffs, a teapot and teacups, bed coverings, etc., as things the bride must bring with her, is still adhered to, but the ceremony itself is performed by a minister. After the ceremony is carried out in the Western manner, the family may perform the Chinese ceremony or they may not. Only in the case of families brought up along Western lines are members of the girl's family present. The elder generation Chinese in Hawaii have been very slow in giving up the system of investigating the physical, mental, social, and economic eligibility of the contracting parties, feeling that it not only safeguards the family, but guarantees a better social product. For fear of propagating weak lines, the Chinese here are careful to avoid marrying individuals of the same surname.

It is considered by the Chinese a sign of great respect and love for a son to present his father with a coffin and funeral clothing for his birthday. This appears incongruous to the Westerners and it is one of the practices that has yielded considerably to Western attitudes. In Hawaii the Chinese immigrants are prone to accept the Western viewpoint and avoid references to death as much as possible. They feel that it is "bad luck" to talk about such things, and to present any one with a coffin would be regarded as an evidence that his speedy death is desired. In performing the funeral rites, however, the first generation follow the old country practices quite closely. There is, of course, some variation depending upon the time of arrival of the immigrants and the section of China from which they came. As a rule, however candles are always lighted at the foot of the casket and members of the family are made to kneel and "kowtow" to the corpse. In the more Westernized family, most of the ancient death customs have been discarded save those of the wearing of hoods and grass slippers at the funeral, the wearing of white, and the going without jewels for at least a hundred days. The throwing of "spirit money" on the way to the grave is still a prevalent custom even among the "converted" groups. Food is still brought, incense burned, and paper clothing and money burned for the use of the departed spirit at various intervals during the year at the graveside.

Although the Chinese living in Hawaii still cling to their conceptions of the traditional etiquette of China, they have been forced to make many modifications in response to Hawaiian conditions of life. The subsequent generations have come to accept the Western forms of etiquette more and more. Emily Post supplants Li Ki as the arbiter of the social proprieties for most of the Chinese born in Hawaii.

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Social Process Editor's Note: Chinese customs vary in different parts of China and with the introduction of new cultures and subsequent urbanization they change continuously. Consequently, the Reader must regard the above as some forms of Chinese etiquette and not the forms. Then, too, the customs of the first-generation Chinese in Hawaii belong to the Ching Dynasty and comparisons with modern China must be made with care.

## Life on a Hawaiian Plantation
An Interview

(1940)

Machiyo Mitamura

It was Sunday, hot and sultry. Everything seemed quiet and dead. There, gathered in the shade of a tree, was a group of old hands smoking their "Durham" and exchanging stories and gossip. Out in the open square some children were just aimlessly wandering around, too tired to play any games in the hot sun.

"This is plantation life, or rather camp life." He made a sweeping gesture, taking in the whole camp. He was smiling, but his voice belied his looks. Hideo-san, born and raised on a plantation, was speaking. We were seated on his little veranda. It was somewhat of a protection from the hot rays, but when the occasional gusts of wind came up, they filled the air with iron-red dust of the fields. No wonder the whole camp is the color of the soil. Even the trees and grass that help to brighten the drab, hot sceneray were tinged with it.

Hideo-san was telling me his story, his ambitions and hopes and disappointments. He was a tall lad, very tall for a Japanese, and strongly built. His face was tanned a deep brown and was brightly intelligent. He was polite and courteous. His English was surprisingly good and made me ashamed of myself for ever thinking that I would be listening to the peculiar English so common among boys of Oriental ancestry.

"How is it that you speak English so well? It seems so out of place." The question popped out before I knew it.

Fortunately he did not take offense. Smilingly he said, "I always studied hard in English and practiced speaking out loud at home and down by the river. I turned out for the school debate team and took part in oratorical contests."

"Didn't you have any trouble with your friends? I mean, didn't they tease and make fun of you when you tried to speak good English?"

"No, I never had much trouble with my friends," was the ready reply. "You see in the first place I'm big and can handle any of them. Then I was always a serious fellow. Sure, I've seen some of my friends kidded and teased. The other always said, 'Look at that guy. He's only a Japanese, but he's trying to be a Haole. He thinks he's too good.'"

"Have you lived here long?" I inquired.

"Well, almost my whole life," was the reply. "I was only a baby when we moved here."

"Then you weren't born on a plantation?"

"I was. You see, I was born on a sugar plantation, and I guess I'll always be on one unless some miracle happens."

"Why, don't you like it here?" I queried.

"I don't know. Maybe it's a good place, but again it's hard for a fellow who wants something else beside plantation life."

"Why, do you..." I wanted to ask him what else he wanted in life but he sensed my thoughts and interrupted me.

"Sure, I want to havea chance to go to the University like you folks, to get something out of life--the good things in life, and to know the worthwhile things that make life better. I want to meet the finer people, to go out and see things ... You know what I mean."

'Now, you shouldn't feel that way," I said trying to pacify him. I could see the yearning in his eyes and feel the eagerness to go beyond the bounds of his little community--his little world. I felt sorry for him. 'You should look at it in another way. You are working today and being useful. It's more than many of us are doing."

"Maybe you're right. I might be better off, but you know how it is..." He looked at me with a smile full of bitterness and wistfulness.

Then he continued, "But I sure envy you people on the outside. I am 23 years old and have lived around here practically my whole life. I've been brought up with "pines" and cane, and I guess I'll die with them. Ten years from now I'll be the same--just going along..."

"I think you're wrong there," I broke in. "If you've got the stuff they might make you a big shot around here."

"Don't kid me," he chided. "You know yourself I haven't got a chance. You can't go very high up and get big money unless your skin is white. You can work here all your life and yet a Haole who doesn't know a thing about the work can be ahead of you in no time. But just the same I'm going to try for some of the good jobs around here. Maybe I'll never make a good plantation worker. Really, I think that 10 years from now I'll be living like my parents in these cottages. That's why I want to go to the University. I

want to study so I can make something out of myself. I want to make my parents proud of me. But what can I do with a family like mine?"

"What's the matter with your family?"

"I can't do anything I want to do. My hands are tied. Just because I happen to be the first-born. You are a Japanese and must know my situation. I have to obey my parents. I am now grown up and must help my parents. Then I have four below me. I just can't do anything. When I think of my family, I wish that I could do something to help them. I hate to think that we're going to live on plantations all our lives."

"Don't feel that way...," I started to interrupt, but he didn't seem to hear me as he continued.

"Sure, the living is all right, I guess. We get free houses. This cottage is free. You see families get a whole cottage, but bachelors are usually given half of the house. The rooms are kind of small, but we have two bedrooms, a kitchen, and a parlor which we also use as a bedroom. The bachelors have a bedroom, a kitchen, and a parlor."

"How about bathrooms...?" I started to ask, but he intercepted me.

"We don't have private baths. For bathing we have the camp bathhouse. You see the building there, that's the camp bathhouse. And you see the other house there, that's the camp toilet." The bathhouse was a low, wide building; the toilet a taller and narrower construction.

"The bathhouse," he continued, "is divided into two, one-half for the women and the other half for the men. The bath is made ready by three o'clock so the workers who start coming back about that time can wash up. Everybody uses it, the Filipinos and all. It's the same with the toilet house, one side for men, one side for women."

"Things are on a community basis around here." I commented.

"Very much so," he replied. "Your business is the camp's business. It's not a secret until the whole camp knows. What you do concerns the whole camp. When I entered the oratorical contests they were all back of me. They were very concerned about it. And when the kids from here go out to play against kids of another camp, practically everybody follows them. They forget their nationalities."

Set apart by themselves in a lonely spot in the highlands, the people working and living together in the camp are naturally drawn together by

common ties. This isolation has been the factor that has enabled the Japanese immigrants to preserve their old customs and habits to a considerable degree.

As Hideo-san continued: "Really, my father and mother are very old-fashioned. Maybe your parents are like that too. Everything is obedience--the idea of oya-koko (filial piety). Father is the head, and we must obey him, right or wrong. Sometimes I do get mad, but I always give in, usually because Mother begs me to and other times because I just can't help it. It's just like a habit. I want more freedom, more chance to do what I want and to think on my own. I hate to do things by asking his permission, but still I do it.

"I can remember when I was in the fifth grade my eyes were bothering me. I was afraid to tell him, but I told my mother. She was worried and told father of it. He asked, 'Oi, me wa do shita no ka?' (What's the matter with your eyes?)

"His face was stern and hard as he asked me that question. 'Nothing,' I replied. And that ended the incident until my teacher came to see my father a week later to ask him to buy me a pair of glasses. You see, he thought I was trying to be hokano (show off).

"In all family matters he gives the last word. No one can contradict him."

"There was the time I wanted to go to a school dance. That was only about five years ago. I was still in high school. The school was giving a dance and all my classmates and friends were going. I wanted to go too. But I had no suit. And I was afraid to ask father for a new suit. I knew what that would mean. Anyway I approached mother. Very tactfully she spoke to him about it."

"He scolded. 'That's the trouble with you. You're too easy with the children. They're getting spoiled. And now you want him to go to a dance and to buy him a new suit. What's the matter with you? What does he want to go to the dance for? To see the girls, I suppose? Do you want him to be useless and good for nothing? A new suit for his graduation is enough!'"

I didn't go that year, but the next year and my senior year I went to some of the dances. I don't know how Father changed his mind, but he did. I think when he found out other fathers were letting their sons and daughters go to dances he allowed me to do same. No, I never enjoyed dancing very much. But I just wanted to go."

He shook his head and smiled sort of wistfully as he mused. Then he

went on: "Yes, Father and Mother came a long time ago. They first came here 27 years ago. I mean father came first and sent for my mother two years later. He was born in Yamaguchi-ken of Japan and came to Hawaii when he heard about the riches here. He heard the stories of gold and money. He was the third son and was allowed to go by his parents.

"He first arrived in Honolulu and was a very disappointed man. He knew no one and he had no money. And the streets did not have the gold that he had dreamed about. However, he had no chance to think because he was taken to a plantation and immediately put to work. He first worked on a sugar plantation. Although there were other Japanese people working there, he felt kind of lonesome because there wasn't anybody from his district. He did hapai-ko, hoe-hana, cut cane for about 90 cents a day. It is little today but in his day it was plenty. You know most of our parents never saw money until they came to Hawaii. Work was hard, but money in cash was coming in so he felt fine. After two years he wrote back home for a wife.

"When Mother came over, he had some money and they had a fair start. No, she didn't stay at home. She went out in the fields to work with the hoe and the knife. Yes, my parents have been working and slaving in the fields but they have hardly anything to show for it, except that they have raised us. We are their only hope. I hate to fail them even if I have to work here all my life.

"They have worked for about 20 years. They're not too old in years. But if you see them you will see what I mean."

At that moment two old people came up the steps. They were old and wrinkled. Very politely they bowed to me and said, "Konichi-wa (good day). Atsui desu ne? (Isn't it a hot day?)"

I returned their courtesy, bowing in my best manner.

The old couple was very courteous and aked me to come in and to make myself at home.

In Japanese fashion I thanked them but politely declined their offer.

Indeed they were beyond their years. The years of hard work in the fields had sapped the fullness out of them. They were not yet 60 but they looked 70.

"You have very nice parents." I complimented him when they retired into the house.

He only shook his head. Yes, thank you. But you can see why I cannot leave or disobey them. They need me here. As I said before, I would like to go away and try to get some real things out of life, but..."

He spoke earnestly and sincerely. I could not help but be affected by his words. Here was a boy who wanted to go out and do things but was held back by family and economic reasons.

"After about 10 years of working on the sugar plantation my parents moved to this place. You see, there were some people from his own prefecture who had come to live here.

"No, I don't remember very much about my early days. You see a plantation is all the same. It hardly changes. All I know is that Mother used to leave me with some lady when she went out into the field. When my older brothers and sisters were born, she stayed home until I was old enough to take care of them. One thing I do remember, though, I was taking care of my younger brothers and sister and don't remember very much. One thing I know is that I used to hate school and always ran away. My father was furious. He gave me a beating and after that I never missed school. After school I would run home because I was hungry and wanted some of the musubi (rice ball) that mother left in the safe (food cabinet).

"However, I grew up and studied hard," he said with a smile.

"Yes, I understand that you were one of the brightest in your classes. I also hear that you were one of the outstanding students in your school."

"No," he denied modestly. "All I did was to study harder than the others. You see my parents were very strict and always made me study before I could go out to play. They were always happy when other told them I was making good. Of course, they would always say in Japanese style, 'Oh, no, our son is hopeless. He never had any ability.

"Yes, I attended the language school. It was the happiest moment for my father and mother when I would come home with some prize at the end of the year. They were very concerned about my Japanese. That was one thing I had to study every night. You see, they took my English for granted. Anyway my parents were very glad when I wrote my first letter in Japanese to my grandfather in Japan.

"I went through high school and wanted to continue to the University. But my parents tearfully pointed out the impossibility. They said, 'No, we can't allow you to do it. It grieves us deeply to say no, but we must think of the younger ones. You have four younger ones below you, and you, being the oldest, should think of helping them go through school. You are

the oldest and must forget yourself. Your father and mother are getting old and you must help us take care of the family.'

"Do you know, but the whole camp was concerned about it? They knew that I had made pretty good in school. They even praised me for my school work, but shook their heads about my going to the University. They said, 'Oya wa ima made lippani minna o sodate ta no de kore kara anata ga oyakoko shite kureru no ga atari mae. (Your parents have done spendidly in rearing you and now it is your turn to be dutiful and help them in their old age).' Of course I gave in. My life was not my own. I had obligations to my family.

"And so I went to work on the plantation. No, it was not the first time. During the summer months I used to help around the fields. You see, most of us help from about fifteen. I remember the first time I went to work. I was just turning fifteen. I went out with the other boys of my age to help during the picking season. We followed the pickers. As soon as they finished a row they would dump the fruit out of the bags at one end and we would clear off the bottom edges of the pineapples and sort them into boxes according to size. We got about 15 cents an hour. Day laborers made from 50 to 80 dollars a month.

"I've done most of the work in the fields. I have done hoe-hana, cut suckers (young pine shoots used in planting), loaded pines on trucks and trains, counted pines in the fields, and other kinds of work. I also picked fruits and helped to spray the field to kill off the bugs.

"Today, I have a pretty good job. I help around the stations as a checker, and make out bills of lading. When there's nothing to do I got out with the gang in the fields. I make about $70 a month.

"Oh, you want to know something about the women. They get less than men, but they can do almost any kind of work. They don't do the hard work like picking the pines or loading. But they sure can hoe-hana, cut suckers, and sort pines. Sure there are some young girls who work in the fields. They're all strong and can last all day in the fields. They wear strong dresses and use homemade cloth coverings to protect their arms and legs from the sun and the pine leaves. You see, the pine leaves are stiff and have sharp edges. You have to have something to protect you or you get all cut up. Boys are lucky. Our arms are protected by long sleeves. The women wrap a towel around their heads and faces for protection against the sun. And like the men, they wear large brim hats.

"Oh, my mother still goes out. She's still strong. I've tried to keep her home, but you know how it is. She's been working so long she feels lost when she hasn't anything to do. She has to do something to be happy.

He looked at me with a queer look. Then he looked away into space and began to shake his head. His mouth was puckered as he contemplated.

"I was just thinking," he began. "Yes, 10 years from now I'll be living the same life of my parents. I hate to think of it. I want to . . . well, anybody want to improve, you know that. Up at five every morning and out in the fields. Ever since I can remember I have gotten up at that early hour. Sure it's dark and cold when you get up. But that's plantation routine.

"By the time you finish your breakfast the whistle blows, and everybody must get together at the office. The breakfast isn't much either. We eat just plain food. We have mainly rice, miso shiru (soy bean soup), pickled plum, cabbage and turnip, and fish or meat that's left over. Yes, sometimes we have ham and eggs. But we usually eat rice. We must have something solid. You see, we start work at six and if we don't eat a healthy breakfast, we'll starve before lunch. We have coffee and bread, but we usually have them after our main meal. Bread, chocolate, and jam are often for the kids.

"We work in the hot sun. Yes, the morning is cool and fresh; but when the sun comes out, boy it's sure hot. In oging to work we get into a turck that takes us to the field where we work. After work the truck comes for us. Sometimes we walk home if the field is near the camp. You know, we're just like prisoners. You know what I mean."

He wishes to express the idea that their work is a life routine, that there is nothing to life but work in the sun and back home without any great motive for living except to exist. I can see the drudgery that he dreads. His work today, tomorrow, next month, next year, and the years to come will invariably be the same with the same gang. He has seen his father and mother wither and dry, working long years in the fields. He has seen their life, drab and empty. He wants something better. Can we not feel the plusing urge and desire of the young man to grasp some color out of life?

"We usually get through work about three in the afternoon unless we have to work overtime. The first thing we do after coming back from the fields is to clean up--go to the furo (bath). But some prefer to play some games before taking a bath. You can play ball. Some go out to tend to their gardens that they have in the back of the camp. We usually get through with our baths and have a little time to 'chew the rag.'

"After supper some stay home, some go to the movies, or some go to town just to fool around. On Saturday nights most of the young fellows are out. Some go to the city for movies and some for dances. They like to come back and say, 'I went to W. Theater last night.'

"I very seldom go into the city because I don't have a car and cannot afford to spend the money the way some of them do. And you know I have to ask Father for money. I can get it, but I hate to have them think that I am spending hard-earned money foolishly. All the money goes to Father, and he doesn't like to give it out for just foolishness.

"Mother knows that I am not always happy. So at times she comforts me with the thought that suffering in this life will bring greater happiness after death. Yes, she is very religious. So is my father. Every morning he gets up and prays before breakfast. Mother offers rice to the family shrine before servingus. On certain days like the bon (time of the return of the spirits of the dead to this earth) we all kneel and pray together. It doesn't make any difference that we are Christians. I mean me and my younger brothers and sisters. It's true with all my friends who go to church."

Indeed it is strange but very true in Hawaii. Parents who are devout Buddhists do allow their children to become Christians and yet, at the same time, require that they kneel at the family shrine or go to the Buddhist temple with them. When the family is having some hard luck, the parents take their children to pray with them at the shrine. On New Year's morning, many of the parents still take their young ones to pray at a temple. The children, in most cases, do not feel anything. This situation may be explained by the fact that the Japanese family is so closely knit that any religious ceremony concerning one member is considered primarily a family affair. It is not regarded purely as an individual religious matter.

"How about marriage?" I asked. "Haven't your parents....?"

"That's out of the question yet," he laughed. "I'm not ready. I haven't found the girl that I want. Yes, some or most of my classmate are either going steady with girls or are married. They marry pretty young out here. The parents want them to.

"Until the right one comes along I won't marry." He sighed as he said it. Then smilingly he continued, "Some of my friends have been married in Japanese style, through matchmaking. No, they seem to be getting along all right, but I still say I want to find my own wife.

"I almost forgot. My parents have found a prospective wife for me. She is very 'Japan-ified.' She was in Japan for a couple of years. My parents think that she will make an ideal wife and daughter-in-law. They want me to accept her. For once I haven't given in. That's one thing I want to have my own way. I want to find my own wife and I will."

"Do you have interracial marriages around here?" I inquired.

"Very rarely," was his reply. "You see, Japanese parents are very strict in that matter. They don't want their girls to marry outside nationalities. It's the same with the boys. Sure they are friendly with other nationalities; but they won't stand the idea of interracial marriage. Their daughters and sons must marry Japanese or they are disgraced among the other Japanese people. There used to be a strong feeling against Okinawans, but nowadays the feeling is not so strong. Just this year a girl got married to an Okinawan, and there was no objection. In fact everybody said that it was a fine marriage. You ought to know these things."

"Yes," said I, "it's the same in town. But in town the girls go around with other nationalities. The parents feel badly, but they resign themselves. One girl who was going with a Filipino was sent to Japan. The parents told her that if she didn't give up the Filipino they would commit suicide. By the way, how are the Filipinos?"

"They're all right until they get into a fight. Once I saw two Filipinos going for each other. Suddenly one of them pulled out a pocket knife and tried to poke the other fellow in the stomach. He missed and cut his ham (thigh). The one with the cut ran back into his house and locked the door. Nobody butted in. It's no sense when they have knives. You'll only get hurt. The Bayaus (Filipinos) are all right as long as they don't lose their temper. They're dangerous when they lose their temper.

"No, they don't have many fights because the trouble makers are fired from the camp as soon as they start anything.

"That's excitement, but I don't like that kind. It's too much for my heart. I rather have bon odori (dance of the festival of the dead).

"Yes, we have lots of fun during bon season. They have dances all over the country here. It is one time I have a big kick. Sure, I take part in the dances. More than half of the fun is in dancing and singing. There's an old saying that runs like this: 'miru mono wa . . . (those who dance are fools, but those who watch are greater fools).' Haven't you seen a country bon dance? It's really like a carnival. Everybody comes out for a good time.

Yes, everybody comes out to have a good time. The old and the young. . . : they all make merry by singing, dancing, and laughing. But there is yet one bitter note in the happy voices blending so well with the merry beat of the drums. It is the cry of despair of the second generation. Theirs is not an easy thing to do -- adjust themselves to the ways of their parents and the ways of a Western life. Here in the story of a youth who has lived on a plantation all his life is shown the conflict that challenges the second generation. Like all youth, he has manifested a desire to better his condition.

But the home situation, the strong family ties, the old customs and traditions have weighed him down. He has been educated in American schools and has ever endeavored to live up to do so in his present condition? Will he become resigned and made the best of his lot, and 10 years from now, will we see the shadow of a man, lunch bag hanging from his back and hoe on his shoulder, wending his way back to his humble abode from the fields, trodding in the footsteps of his parents?

## How Young Chinese View Their Heritage

Taken from Honolulu Star-Bulletin
July 13, 1970

The young Chinese in Hawaii--those 35-years old and under--have few ties to Mainland China or Taiwan, other than a desire to visit and bring home "bargains."

The Chinese are increasingly more Western in thought, dress, activities--almost wholly attributed to their schooling in Hawaii.

And here is what some of them think about their Chinese heritage:

--"There is no way that our forefathers could have discovered America...unless they were cooks on the Santa Maira and that's doubtful." --Mrs. Betty Ing Bradshaw, a 28-year-old Island girl married to a black.

--"It's something that perhaps was instilled in me by my parents, but I had a definite realization that I would marry a Chinese girl." --Nathan Lum, 24-year-old architect and teacher.

--"If we start talking to our daughter in Chinese, she laughs and says, "You talk funny,' but I will send her to language school." --Kenneth D. H. Chong, a Kaiser Hawaii Kai vice president.

--"I think pakes (Chinese) are the worst of all. When it comes to business, they don't help their brothers. When it comes to money, they will rob each other and crawl all over each other for it." --Bryan Ching, 24-year-old graduate student

--"I wasn't going to join the Chinese Jacyees...you see the name and you think it's a racial organization."--Wendell Chun, president of the Chinese Jaycees.

--"Chinese sororities and fraternities at the University of Hawaii are inner-directed. They are not making any contributions to the University community or to the general community."--Robert Chang, 23-year-old graduate student.

There is an emerging, college-educated group which disdains what they call the pretensions and insecurities of the "nouveau riche."

They shun the rigidity of their heritage, but they embrace and perpetuate the strengths, combining them with their Western learning.

There are some who have followed the expectations of their parents: They attend prestigious colleges, become teachers, physicians, lawyers, marry into the"right" family, advance their climb on the social ladder.

These are by no means the total 18-to-35-year-old population.

Kenneth Chong, a vice president at Kaiser Hawaii Kai at just age 34, is like most Hawaii-born Chinese in that he does not identify with either Communist or Nationalist China, but leans toward the National government.

Chong married to the former Carol Lin, has two children, and his motivation for success includes the desire for a comfortable life for his family, family pride, a sense of accomplishment and recognition in his job.

"Family has always been a very important element in providing guidance in early formative years," he said.

Speaking of "vertical mobility" or the desire to achieve beyond that of the previous generation, Chong said: "Ever since I can recall, the idea of going to college has always been brought up as if it were a foregone conclusion.

He graduated from the University of Hawaii as Real Dean (the outstanding graduate), a member of Phi Beta Kappa and Phi Kappa Phi. He went on to graduate from both Yale Law School and Harvard University School of Business.

He and his wife, who was born in China and lived several years in Boston, will try to expose their children to "things Chinese."

"This is all part of what I conceive to be multiphase program aimed at giving the child some sense of identification with the ancestry from which he came," Chong said, allowing that he has followed many cultural customs.

Of his daughter, Jean-Jean, he said: "We really don't speak to her in Chinese. I think the problem is that they come home from school and are eager to try new words out on you.

"If you respond to them in an entirely different tongue, you get a completely bewildered look. After a while, they'll either laugh at you or avoid you."

He is a major in the Air Force Reserve and also belongs to an international Chinese fraternity which actively promotes understanding and sharing of Chinese customs.

On the other hand, take the case of Wendell Chun, who "wasn't going to join the Chinese Jaycees because of the name."

Chun, this year's Chinese Jaycees president, now knows the group is interracial and is pledged to develop young people through community involvement.

He said most of the 140 members are Chinese, but the only strictly ethnic activity the group undertakes is the yearly Narcissus Festival queen pageant.

Echoing the emphasis on the present nonracial character of organizations which began as "cultural" was Bryan Ching.

He said Chinese sororities and fraternities at the University are "mixed today...and tend not to stick together any more."

He said the "kids aren't pressured any more to date only Chinese."

And as Robert Chang put it: "Everyone blends in now, and you feel like one of the boys. There is no need for segregation." He recalls however, the days when the UH Chinese banded together for "protection."

"My popo (grandmother) used to always tell us to marry a Chinese girl. We were brought up that way.

"Now the pressure isn't that great. It used to be if you didn't marry a Chinese girl, 'Don't come home!'" Chang said.

Nathan Lum, a 24-year-old architect and teacher, married a Chinese girl, the former Lorene Lung.

Although he respects and practices some customs, he is one of the more outspoken young people.

The student activism, which began in strength with the Eugene McCarthy presidential campaign, created a "generation gap" between those over and those under 25.

Lum, a leader of three student strikes in three years at Syracuse University, does not call himself a radical, activist or militant.

"If my thinking is opposite to that of the general public, I am branded a radical or effete snob," he said.

"If I demonstrate and say what I believe, then I am called an activist, militant, a rotten kid, a bum or whatever."

He is unusual. There are few vocal Chinese activists. Most who would lean this way are submerged by strong parents.

In the strike that followed the deaths of two Kent State College students protesting the recent Cambodian expedition, Lum made "strike" shirts.

Of the strike, he said: "The rhetoric of Spiro, who has become so true to the hearts of so many, inflamed the general public into a state of panic--that the only way to deal with the situation in Asia and on campuses was to shoot to kill.

"Law and order, Communist infiltration, God, mother and apple pie--all were waved like flags as if there were no tomorrow."

But Lum is against violence and is not without constructive ideals. He will teach at Iolani School in the fall.

"I am amazed at the level of awareness and concern of high school students," he said.

"They have been brought up in a world of instant participation (television), they are very mobile and really unconcerned about financial aspects.

"I want to learn from them."

As for some aspects of the Chinese community, Lum said: "I think they stink. The ingrown prejudices that are constantly being perpetuated are for the most part obsolete.

"Of course, I realize and appreciate the history we have. But what are we? Less than 10 per cent of the population of Hawaii. Do we inbreed forever?" he asked.

Betty Ing Bradshaw told an interesting story in this regard.

"My grandmother told me that two generations before she was born, there was a Jewish tribe that fled (persecution) and had gone to her village (in China).

"In the Chinese style, you want to intermarry the youngest daughter and the youngest son of the families.

"Then you can trade. What happened in two or three generations was that the Chinese absorbed the Jews. If you could go back, you might still fine the synagogue in the village.

"A Chinese family was always that way...you sealed the bind. This was the real strength of the Chinese. When they moved away from China, they became afraid and perpetuated in-group thinking for protection."

"Here, we're all white because we grow up trying to be white.

"One of the things that grabbed me and you still hear all the time is 'She is so fair and she"s so cute,' and I grew up thinking the same," Betty Bradshaw said.

Her husband, English Bradshaw, a black who set up the ethnic studies program at the University of Hawaii, said: 'One thing I've found being married to her. It made me look at the whole black thing unsingularly. I found I had gone one step beyond where I was a year ago."

To the Bradshaws, their courtship and marriage were "natural things," and once their families were "zapped with the fact, they accepted it."

Bradshaw said he dated Chinese women almost exclusively in the last five years because they were "more international minded."

As he put it: 'The Chinese know how to think. From the word go, they're scholars, but sometimes they think too much."

His wife described Chinese families as strong.

"The parents of an activist son or daughter hassles the child much more than outside society.

"They don't throw him out. They just ice him and surround him. This kind of action really does the job. They cannot be vocal because of the family situation," she said.

Their children will be "kaleidoscopic," and it, "behooves us to know who we are so the child can say 'This is my mother and father,' not 'She's Oriental and he's black,' " Bradshaw said.

After Errol and Andy Yim were married, they lived in a housing project in St. Louis, Mo., where he was attending dental school.

"You found every race, every mixture of people...everybody respected each other for the human beings they were. Nobody scorned or looked down their noes," said the blonde, Mrs. Yim a native of Florida.

She went on, "This is the type of world we'd like to have."

Her 25-year-old husband put in, "That's idealistic. It's not going to be that way for a long time."

The only difference they had between them during courtship, Mrs. Yim mused, was that "I am a woman and he is a man."

"To be really honest, I didn't know he was Oriental for a long time; I never thought about it.

"My mother fell in love with him the first time she met him," she recalled.

"My father tends to be prejudiced. My mother once told me, 'Don't mention to your dad that Errol is Chinese.'"

"My father has never met Errol. He wouldn't approve," Mrs. Yim said quietly."

Dr. Yim said that his "roots are Chinese. I've adopted the American ways and customs, but I guess it's the way I've been brought up."

He admitted being "a little scared" when he had to tell his parents he was marrying a platinum blonde girl. But everything has worked out "very well."

It took a haole, Mrs. Yim, to sum up the things Chinese that the young wish to perpetuate.

"I really feel good here. I know I stand out but I don't want people to look at me like I was a tourist. I want everyone to know that I belong.

"I don't have any friends here yet, but I know I could pick up and visit any of Errol's aunties if I were lonely. That's just the way they are.

I want Leslie (her 1-year-old daughter) to learn the Chinese ways. In fact, I want to learn them.

"So many Mainland families aren't close because there's no over-all tradition to bind them.

"I think there's so much more to life when tradition is involved. Errol's told me about many things, and, in fact, I really want to attend a real Chinese funeral!"